DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 158 932 RC 010 692

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TITLE Reasons and Underlying Philosophies for Living in the Country.
PUB DATE 9 Aug 78
NOTE 59p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Beliefs; Child Rearing; Extension Education; Family Life; Farmers; Income; Part Time Farmers; Personal Values; *Philosophy; Q Sort; *Quality of Life; Retirement; *Rural Environment; Rural Farm Residents; Rural Nonfarm Residents; *Rural Population; Rural Urban Differences
IDENTIFIERS Missouri

ABSTRACT

Six ideological types of rural residents were defined to represent empirically determined reasons and underlying philosophies for living in the country, addressing a need to look at aspects of the growing nonfarm contingent of rural population, especially as it concerns extension program needs. The types were descriptively named Committed Farmers, Reluctant Residents, Nature Lovers, Guests of the Country, Child "Raisers", and Agrarian Cornerstones. Rural residents Q-sorted 90 items representing diverse reasons (farming as individual achievement, business, cornerstone of society, escape release, child raising, naturist) and philosophies (Protestant ethic, consumerism, new naturalism, agrarianism, humanism) and rated reasons for rural living to provide a congruency test for factored types. Net results showed high congruency between types and rated reasons. No type was primarily committed to farming either as a business or to make money--even committed farmers rated quality of life issues and importance of farming to society over making money. No retirement-oriented type emerged, despite many retired and semiretired respondents--retirement concerns came after basic ideologies and quality of life reasons. Commitment to country living varied from Reluctant Residents longing for urban culture to those who saw farming as a cornerstone of society. There were no highly rated consensus items among types. (RS)

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RC 010692

REASONS AND UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHIES FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY

Rev. 8/9/78

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I. Background and Rationale

As the state and nation has become more urbanized, the proportion of the nonfarm people living in the open country has increased greatly. The urban influence of large metropolitan centers has extended far into the countryside. Even the majority of people living around such small cities as Columbia, Jefferson City, Joplin and Cape Girardeau have little or no committment to farming as an occupation. This lack of committment also extends well into some of the more remote rural areas in the state where there are many part-time farmers and retired people. This diverse aggregate has been classified into an amorphous category called rural non-farm for census purposes. In 1970 they constituted 21.2 percent of the states population which was an increase of 0.3 percent over the past decade. (Census of Agriculture, 1969, 1974).

Into this rural non-farm category have been dumped everything not farm and not urban. Agricultural researchers have either tended to exclude them in their research or include portions thereof under such designations as part-time farmers or rural residents. In extension they have been incidentally

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recognized by the addition of such concerns as; household affairs, health, consumer issues, landscape design, gardening and the control of insects whether on the farm or off. Too often country residents have been assumed to be committed farmers dedicated to increasing agriculture production and making profits.

Those who got bypassed in a rapidly modernizing agriculture have been accorded a much tauted small farmer program and the otherwise economic disadvantaged a program dedicated to food and nutrition. But there have been no programs for the rural non-farm elements of the population as such. Public concern for the improvement of rural life requires a definitive look at the interests and needs of the growing non-farm contingent of the population. To be sure much can be inferred about these people's interests from such stated reasons as: "A good place to live, rear children, retire, urban escape, part-time farming and the like." But this tells us a little about the deeply held views underlying the stated reasons for residing in the open country--or about the extension program needs.

This study addresses the problem by: (1) throughly exploring the diverse ideologies and reasons that people give for living in the country, (2) defining ideological types and (3) developing a sufficiently simple method for identifying ideological categories of people. The last can be used to determine what kind and how many of the various types of people reside in other geographic areas. This study alone

provides useful keys about the interests and concerns of rural non-farm clienteles for whom extension programming might be needed.

In addition to the above listed objectives, attention is also directed to how ideologies central to the ethos of society, which have emerged and receded through time have been incorporated into people's underlying reasons for living in the country. Perhaps oldest and most pervasive of this has been the Protestant Ethic which emphasized hard work, austerity, saving, frugality and individual achievement. According to this way of thinking the worth of a man was measured in terms of his achievement (mostly as a producer). But austerity, frugality and saving not being suited to the needs of an expanding economy, there emerged an emphasis on consumerism which have been aided and abetted by a system of effective advertising. This created felt needs where none existed (DeFleur and Rokeach 1976) and raised others from a level of luxury to that of necessity. Technology ruled supreme and the worth of a man was measured not in manifestations of productive achievement but in terms of how much and what he consumed. This kind of thinking seemed to prevade for a time.

Then in the mid-40's with the appearance of the first truly affluent generation who could take for granted amenities that the older generation could scarcely dream of, there emerged still another kind of thinking. It featured revolt against materialism, technology, intellectualism and consumerism and

even reason at a time when the older generation was basking in an atmosphere of prosperity and newly found affluence thankful that their children would not have to experience the austerity and deprivation of their generation (Douglas 1970). These counter culturalists together with a sizable contingent of intellectuals seriously questioned the superficiality of the technological, consumeristic orientation. This movement much more quickly than in times past (Berger 1971) became the basis of a new zeitgeist labeled by Yankelovich and others as the New Naturalism (Yankelovich 1972:167-185). It included elements from the Protestant Ethic, agrarianism, the counter culture itself and a new breed of environmentalists. It emphasized the importance of living (a) on the land close to nature in the fresh air, (b) in harmony with nature rather than the mastery of it, (c) preservation of the natural environment over economic growth, (d) community over the individual, (e) cooperation over competition, and (f) self expression over repression. As a part of the new naturalism there was a growing humanistic concern directed to improving the situation of economically and socially disadvantaged and an increased interest in life styles emphasizing personal togetherness.

Antedating these new ideologies was an agrarian philosophy. This had persisted at least from colonial days. It eulogized the quality of farm life, and particularly the family farm which was seen as the prime preserver of values essential to national survival and the good life. It

included concern of people for each other, personal morality, self reliance, initiative and achievement free from the corrupting influence of the city. City life at least until the late 19th century, was felt by many to carry the seeds of its own destruction. The family farm was accordingly seen as a place to rear children. This plus reliance on the family as the source of cheap food for the nation provided a strong ideological base for the support of country life and particularly the family farm.

II. Methodology

Any methodology suitable for classifying and defining people living in the open country in terms of their belief systems would first of all have to detect and address the diversity of views and reasons that exist. It additionally would have to account for this diversity in a context which approximates the way people living in the country customarily arrange them in their own mind space. This is not to deny the utility of a simple direct inquiry into what people say their reasons are for their occupational commitments. As valuable as a direct approach is, it does not permit indepth assessments of peoples' commitments. For this Q-methodology seemed appropriate.

This is a technique that permits respondents to arrange views relevant to any subject on an importance-unimportance basis each viewed relative to the others as they perceive them.

Applied to reasons for living in the country, use of the method required a sample of the widest diversity of views

about country life and living as reasonably possible. Once obtained and properly sampled, respondents in a second sample of open country residents, picked for maximum diversity could rate the views in terms of their strength of agreement on a strongly disagree to strongly agree continuum. The method requires a respondent to place a very small number of items at the strongly agree and strongly disagree ends of the continuum and progressively more toward the middle range where weak feelings and/or indifference is expressed. This is referred to as a Q-sort. It provides an approximate normal distribution of responses on a calibrated plus through zero to minus range. Item placements being standard scores, their magnitude can be directly compared.

The normal distribution of views from strongly disagree to strongly agree with a high concentration in the middle range each relative to all others is assumed to represent a view configuration characteristic of the way people ordinarily order them in relative importance on matters about which they have strong opinions (Stephenson 1967). This done, responses can be subjected to factor analysis to abstract types of people who tend to think the same way. The placement of items relative to each other in the Q-sort provides the basis for describing the types and underlying ideologies that emerge in the factor analysis.

Diversity is a guiding principle throughout the use of Q-methodology. The items to which responses are to be requested must very nearly approach the diversity that exists in the idea

universe in regard to the subject being investigated. No greater diversity than that put into the view sample can be obtained by use of the method. It sets the limits. To get the needed diversity two routes are possible. Views from written records and from views expressed by people who are interviewed in depth and whose views are taken as near verbatim as possible. Finally to define types representing people holding typically different views a second sample of people with highly diverse views relating to the subject at issue is needed.

The Sample of Q-sort Statements

The study required an extensive inquiry into reactions and views about living and not living in the country. These ranged from the superficial to those very strongly held. These were obtained by a careful search of the literature and in-depth interviews with the greatest diversity of people living in the open country that we could find. Literature reviewed ranged from the passionate renditions of late 19th and early 20th century writers who were deeply concerned about threats to rural life and the migration of country youth to the city, to the more recent treatises relating to changing ideologies of society.[2]

A second source of viewpoints was obtained from in-depth interviews with 38 persons living in the open country. Geographically they were drawn from western, central and northeastern Missouri and the Ozark areas of Missouri. This was assumed to represent the diversity existing in the state.

FIGURE 1 DIAGRAMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE BALANCED BLOCK DESIGN ARRAY OF STATEMENTS

Ideologies	Farming as Individual Achievement (No. of items)	Farming as a Business (No. of items)	Farming as a Cornerstone of Society (No. of items)	Escape Release (No. of items)	Child Raising (No. of items)	Naturist (No. of items)
Protestant Ethic	3	3	3	3	3	3
Consumerism	3	3	3	3	3	3
Neo Naturalism	3	3	3	3	3	3
Agrarianism	3	3	3	3	3	3
Humanism	3	3	3	3	3	3

Respondents were about equally divided between male and female who ranged in age from 15 to 79. Occupationally they likewise represented the diversity that existed in the areas from which they were selected. This included farmers, large and small, lower level professionals, college professors, and a variety of manual, blue collar and farm workers. In addition there were retirees, the unemployed and "hippies." Some had lived in the country all of their lives and some had recently moved in. An attempt was made to record statements made verbatim.

The 690 statements collected from the literature and in-depth interviews were progressively reduced to 300 by eliminating near duplicates and picking those that best stated the views presented. Six basic orientations to life in the country seemed to be reflected; namely, (1) farming as individual achievement, (2) farming as a business, (3) farming as a cornerstone of society, (4) escape release, (5) child "raising" and (6) naturist. These orientations were used as one dimension and the underlying ideologies--Protestant Ethic, Consumerism, New Naturalism, Agrarianism and Humanism--were used as the other. This provided the dimensions for the balanced block design used to select the final sample of items or views. With 90 regarded an operable maximum and 30 cells to be filled three items could be selected for each (see figure 1). From the reserve of 300 statements, 90 were selected which in the opinion of 5 judges (3 professors and 2 graduate students) best exemplified the cross referenced

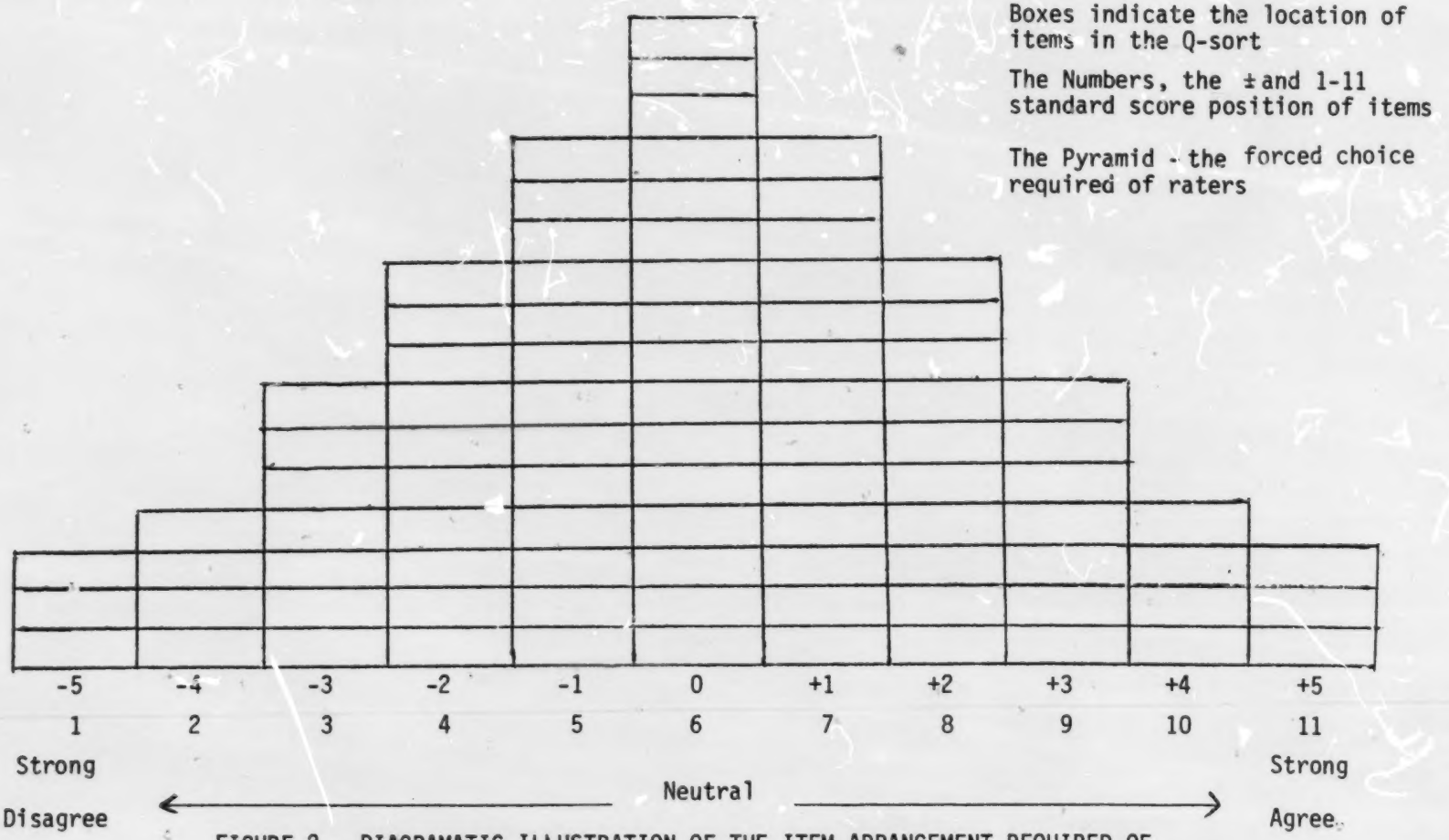
LEGEND
Boxes indicate the location of items in the Q-sort
The Numbers, the ± and 1-11 standard score position of items
The Pyramid - the forced choice required of raters
-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
Strong Disagree
Neutral
Strong Agree

FIGURE 2 - DIAGRAMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE ITEM ARRANGEMENT REQUIRED OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID THE Q-SORTS

blocks to which they were assigned. The objective was to have in each block at least one positive and one negative statement relative to life in the open country. The 90 statements assigned in accord with this pattern constituted the balanced block design.

Respondents to the Q-sample of Statements

First, the 72 respondents to be interviewed were selected with the same attention to diversity as those from whom statements about life in the country were initially obtained. An additional 4 students and 2 Hare Krishnas were included in the 72 to flesh out the "counter culture." All were asked to do the Q-sort and fill out a very short questionnaire in which data about occupation, residence, kinship ties and reasons for living in the country were obtained.

After the reasons for doing the study and the respondents' rights to not participate were explained each was asked to sort the 90 statements into those with which they tended to agree and those with which they tended to disagree. They were then asked to pick three statements with which they agreed most strongly from the agree pile. These they placed in the most agree position on the Q-sort. They were then instructed to place progressively more in specified positions as agreement became weaker and thus ultimately reached the neutral position. At this point the most selections were required. (see figure 2). This procedure was repeated on the disagree side until all positions in the forced choice arrangement were filled.

The statement positions in the Q-sort were transformed into z-scores (standard scores) with the neutral point zero and agreement or disagreement expressed as standard deviations from the mean. These provided the data base for factor analysis of the individual matrices in which respondents were regarded as variables and like minded people as types were abstracted. Item factor loadings on 6 abstracted types were used as the basis for describing the types. A varimax orthogonal rotation was chosen for this part of the analysis because it tended to minimize correlations between factors and because it tended to load individuals more distinctly on a single factor than an oblique rotation (Nunally 1967).[3] It accordingly permitted more definitive classification of individuals in terms of the factored types.

III. The Research Findings

A factor analysis which produced six typologies was used as the most approptiate for defining distinctive orientations to living in the country.[4] Each group is described in terms of their standard (z) score item placement in the Q-sort. These subjectively labeled as committed farmers, reluctant residents, nature lovers, guests of the country, child "raisers" and agrarian cornerstones are described in the section which immediately follows. Although committed farmers and nature lovers claimed the most recruits in the factor analysis, no valid judgement is warranted as to their likely relative presence in a random sample of a given population. The purpose of the analysis was only to define and describe the types and

ultimately to devise a method for identifying them in other situations.

The type descriptions are followed by a brief examination of similarities and differences among them. Next, we impose a congruency test in which factorially determined orientations for living in the country are compared to nine ranked reasons for doing so, plus how they regard their living unit, either as a farm, a place to live, or both. Finally, in section 4 we propose items and a simplified method for identifying types in survey research operations.

1. The Abstracted Types

Type I - The Committed Farmer

The committed farmer is most impressed by feelings of accomplishment that derive from growing and harvesting crops (38).[5] They see their own kind as the backbone of society (3) in which all have a stake both from the standpoint of moral fiber of the nation and as a source of cheap food (50). Because of this they feel ways have to be found to make farming pay (30). An element of divine sanctity is added by being close to the land and nature where one can learn how God really meant things to be (3).

They strongly felt that the country is the locus of the good life. It is superior to the city as a place to rear children because it teaches responsibility with freedom (77) in proper contact with nature (21). It is a place where people care and are friendly and willing to do things for each other (88, 35). Farming keeps the family close together (73). Children are happier, and have more respect for adults (70).

Lower in emphasis but still a part of the good life is the feeling that country people are basically good and interested in others for what they are, not where they came from (22). In addition, country people have more common sense and a better idea of what hard work is (27). This is presumed to be desired but relatively lacking elsewhere.

Despite the appreciation of the quality of country living including open air and its peaceful nature (28), they were very mindful of the continuing battle with nature -including weeds, weather, diseases and insects (20); also that battles are sometimes lost about the time farmers begin to feel they have it made (89).

They strongly feel that it isn't the money that you make in farming that is important (62) or even the prospects for making a lot of it (68). But they are not very willing to concede that the wonderful life there is more important (64). They do contend that a person can be an honest to goodness farmer without owning a lot of land (11). Furthermore, they take very strong exception to the view that farming is basically a credit-supported, status-achieving operation where farmers buy a lot of things that they don't need (42).

In general, they strongly disagree with the negative views about the quality of life in the country and the moral fiber of the people living there. They most strongly and emphatically disagree with the idea that when the going is good farmers rob the rest of society blind, and when things get bad they come bawling for help from the public till (76). They strongly disbelieve that the "so-called" tradition bound

conditions in the country are conducive to creating closed minds, not appropriate for present day conditions (15), that country life is too isolated and devoid of cultural activities (82), that diversity in the country is such that a sense of community and mutual cultural concern is lost (53) and that the personality makeup one needs today is more likely to be developed in the city than in the country (43).

The committed farmer does not share the pessimistic views that:

> The family farm cannot be operated in a sufficiently business-like manner to survive (37).
>
> Farming is really a slave labor operation despite exaulted claims to the contrary (4, 21).
>
> Farming is something that one does if he doesn't know anything else (19).
>
> One cannot have any privacy in the country because everybody knows what everybody else is doing (19).
>
> Being able to have a cow, horse or dog is a poor substitute for the alledgedly better schools that children have in the city (40).

In regard to city schools, the "committed farmer" would opt for an animal.

Type II - Reluctant Residents

In a sense they are social isolates or even strangers in a strange land. They strongly agree that living in the country, close to nature, is all right and is needed (21); likewise, being close to people. They feel that it is difficult to develop this closeness to people in the country (49). They like being away from city life but the lonliness in the country is hard to take (85). Also, they strongly feel that one is too isolated from what is going on in the world, particularly the

cultural activities (82). Although they are glad to be away from the city, they have no illusion about the country being the source of the good life (80).

They see the open air and peace of the country as a plus condition (25) and somehow feel that every man should have a right and privilege to personal use of a part of the earth (48). For this, some are willing to hock their souls (17). They also feel that a person can be a real farmer without owning a lot of land (11).

Somehow, they see the open country as an important source of emotional release (74) while enjoying the beauty of nature (66). Their emphasis on the importance of being close to nature is further fortified by a belief that anything that removes one a step further from the earth is a distinct loss (14). Yet, in spite of losses incurred, they feel quite strongly that most people are destined to live in cities, and thus to building a good life there (80). This suggests a kind of ambivilance toward living in the country and perhaps a feeling of alienation from the good life in the city.

Reluctant Residents reject the idea that farm people are healthier than city people (33). They strongly reject the ideas that farms protect children from the temptations of city life like dope, sex and motorcycles (83), that country children are smarter because they have more common sense and practical experience (87), that parents know more about where the children are (18) or that children are indeed happier and generally show more respect for people than city children (70). Conversely, they do not ascribe to the view that rural development will alter life in such a way that it will be harmful to children (59).

Consistent with their apparent lonliness, Reluctant Residents do not see country people as basically better than anybody else, or more interested in one as a person than city people (22). Although not opposed to the idea, they have little or no committment to farming either as a means of making money (62, 68) or for ideological reasons whether in the interests of society or self. They do not see real meanings in life deriving from the country (5) or any loss to society in terms of cheap food with the possible passing of the family farm (50).

Type III - Nature Lovers

Most important to Nature Lovers is seeing crops grow and the sense of accomplishment that comes at harvest time (38). They extol farming as a vehicle for being close to and in harmony with nature as a means of making a living (72). They feel the benefits roughly proportional to how close one lives to the soil (14).

No child, they strongly believe, should grow up without a knowledge of the forest or close contact with nature (21). Furthermore, they believe that if there is a choice to be made, trees are to be preserved at the expense of farming (81, 71).

Nature Lovers love the open country because of the fresh air and peace of country living. For them life in the country is what is so wonderful, not the money that can be made (64). Included also in this wonderful life is the profound beauty of nature sometimes manifested in the snow covered expanse of land (66), the opportunity to live in close harmony with nature and still make a living (72), the human qualities that develop in close communication with nature (63) and the opportunity to get close to land

and nature where one can learn how God really meant things to be (3).

The human qualities of the people who live in the country are almost as important for Nature Lovers as communion with nature. They perceive country people as being friendly and willing to do things for each other (88, 35). They believe in the inalienable right of every person to personal use of some part of the earth (48). They see country living as a means of escaping from the hassle of urban life (78) and the "closed in" feelings that accompany it (32).

These individuals strongly disagreed with the emphasis on making money over other farm life qualities (62, 68), including the preservation of trees (81, 71). They neither believe that farming is mostly a form of slave labor (24, 4) nor that it protects youth from such city temptations as dope, sex and motorcycles (83). Nature Lovers also quite highly disagreed with the contentions that farmers rob people blind when things are good and come bawling to the public til when the going gets difficult (76) and that being able to have a cow, horse, or a dog is a poor substitute for the allegedly better schools children have in the city (40).

Nature Lovers ascribe to neither extreme concerning the relative merits of rearing children in the country versus the city. They don't believe that city life is more conducive to the development of personality traits needed today than country life (43) or that city kids get involved in so many things that they can't excel in anything (75). Neither do they believe that "so-called" traditionalism in the country creates closed minds unsuited to present day conditions (15), that country kids

are a lot smarter because of the common sense experiences that they have in the country (87), that inclinations of nature lovers in the country lead children to believe that man was made for animals rather than the converse (8) or that the growing diversity of interests in rural society will materially diminish the mutual concern that country people have for each other (53).

Type IV - Guests of the Country

"In a sense I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit on the porch and not be bothered." This was the view that Guests of the Country emphasized most of all. They like being there as well as being away from the city, but at the same time show little commitment to farming. They like "piddling" around and getting exercise in the open, fresh air (7), doing their own thing (55) and, even more, getting away from the urban hassle while still being able to make money working (78). They ruled out making money as the chief object of farming (62) and that farming is, for the most part, a status achieving operation maintained mostly on borrowed money (42).

Guests of the country derive satisfaction from always having something to do (31) even though such natural calamities as drought, storms and unexpected freezes sometimes make them wonder whether or not farming is worth the effort (89, 20). But they agree that by living close to land and nature, one can learn how God really meant things to be (3), that there is indeed something special about growing up in the country (23) and that farm people seem more willing to do things for each other than city people (88).

Elements of security are there also. Thus, at the end of one's working career, it is possible to make a living by renting out ones land and still have something to do after retirement (1). They see land ownership as something of a right (48), which in turn not only makes a person more independent but also obliges him to use his own initiative (10).

They very strongly disagree that:

> Farming is basically a slave labor operation (4, 24).
>
> Privacy is denied those who live in the country (12).
>
> Country people are too isolated from cultural activities (82).
>
> Country life creates closed minds unsuited to present day conditions (15).

Even more strongly, they disagree that farmers rob people blind when things are going good and cry for public assistance when they are not (76).

While they are negative to views unfavorable to farm life, neither did they eulogize it as being something special. They do not believe man was originally destined to cultivate the land as a matter of devine decree (13), that nature must be kind to man because man is the product of nature (61) or that home grown food has advantages over store bought food (44).

Type V - Child 'Raisers'

"I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special." (23) This theme most characterizes Child 'Raisers'. They like being in the open country as well as being away from the city. They are not committed to farming as an occupation. In fact, it is mostly a hobby (86).

Their main work is doing something else. Central to this good life are the country people who are interested in you as a person, and not where you came from (22), the open air and tranquility of the environment (28), the pleasure of seeing crops grow and the tangible manifestations of achievement at harvest (38).

The country is seen as a place where children are happier and show more respect for others (70) and where responsibility is taught with freedom (77). It is a place where it is possible to get close to the land and nature and learn how God meant things to be (3). For the Child 'Raisers', life in the country is what counts rather than the living that one makes on the farm (64). Here it is possible to get close to the land and nature and learn how God meant things to be (3).

Nevertheless, they do not see country life as all pluses. There is the continuous fight with nature -weeds, weather, diseases, insects and the like (20). Battles are sometimes lost just when they're beginning to think that they've got it made (89). Also, country people are seen as being just as dependent upon each other as those in the city (69). An underlying, but less strongly felt view, was that every person should have the right and privilege to personal use of some part of the earth (48) and the benefits that accure from land ownership, e.g., making a person feel more independent while at the same time encouraging personal initiative (10).

They disagreed most strongly, with the charge that farmers rob people blind when times are good and come bawling to the public til when the going gets hard (76). But,

at the same time, they don't share all views about the sanctity and wholesomeness of rural life. Some of these relate to the benefits that allegedly accrue to country children and others to more general qualities of rural life. In regard to the former, Child 'Raisers' strongly disagree with the idea that country children are a lot smarter than city children because of their common sense and experience (87) and that the rural environment protects children from city temptations like dope, sex and motorcycles (83). Conversely, they do not feel that country life produces more closed minds than city life (15), nor do they believe that personal qualities most needed today can be better developed in the city than in the country (43).

In regard to quality of life, they emphatically don't believe that real meanings in life come from living in the country rather than from science (5) or that "freedom to worship" advantages accrue from living in the country (90).

They definitely do not see the diversity of country interests as a threat to the sense of community and concern for others (53). For them, farming is not a status achieving operation manifested in concious attempts at conspicuous consumption (42). They moderately disagree with the idea that farmers generally hock their souls to keep land ownership in the family (17) or that they have a moral obligation to increase agricultural production on behalf of society (29), nor do they feel that farming is basically a gold-mining operation (68).

Type VI - Agrarian Cornerstones

For the Agrarian Cornerstones, "The real meanings of life come from living in the country, not from science." (5) They

feel that country living offers the best chance for keeping wants down (36), thus stressing an anti-consumerism stance. Here they could also remain close to the land and nature, where one can best learn how God really meant things to be (3) and thus worship God the way they please (90). Indeed, farming is the best part of the old time religion as they see it: "It reminds people how dependent they are on nature which, like religion, reminds one how dependent we are on God" (6).

Other non-monetary considerations followed, in somewhat less emphasized order. Some related to country people and others to the quality of country life generally. The people are seen as friendly and willing to do things for each other (88) and as being self reliant (26). Agrarian Cornerstones are very glad to get away from the urban hassle where they are still able to make a living by hard work (78), and where life is more stable than in the city (84). They derive personal satisfaction from growing crops, feelings of accomplishment at harvest (38), the open air and peace of the country (28). This is coupled with the feeling that cultivation of the land is part of the original destiny of man (13). These positive views of farm life persist despite a recognition that farming is a continous fight with nature (20). Perhaps all can be summarized by the strongly held contention that living in the country is what is so wonderful, not the livelihood that one makes on the farm (64).

Along with others, Agrarian Cornerstones most strongly disagreed with the contention that country life protected children from the temptations of the city (83), and they do not feel that

an opportunity for children to own a cow, horse or dog would be a poor substitute for the benefits of the allegedly better schools in the city (40). They would opt for owning an animal.

They strongly vetoed the idea that farming is mostly a slave labor operation (24) and that making money is its most important aspect (62). Likewise, they would not accept such ideas that increments to the good life are proportional to how far people are removed from the land (14) and that people on the land can be counted on to put things together again when they fall apart (46). Also, they are not unduely sold on home grown foods (44) nor do they ascribe to organic farming (2). Agrarian Cornerstones do not believe in sitting around doing nothing while enjoying life in the country (51). They did not feel that farmers rob the public blind when things are good and ask for help from the public til when things turn sour (76), or that city children are involved in so many things they can't excell in anything (75). They liked being away from the city rush and had little concern about loneliness that may accrue from living in the country (85).

2. Similarities and Variations Among Types

There were no strongly held views upon which all ideological types agreed (6). Two on which all were moderately positive were that a person can be a real farmer without owning a lot of land (11) and that farming provides a chance to live in close harmony with nature (72). On the negative side there was only one of moderately negative agreement, namely that the personality one need, is the product of city life (43). (See appendix, Table 2).

TABLE 1. THE SIX-FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX DEPICTING REASONS FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY

	Factored Type					
Factored Types	I Committed Farmers	II Reluctant Residents	III Nature Lovers	IV Guests of the Country	V Child Raisers	VI Agrarian Cornerstones
I	1.000	.234	.752	.539	.586	.587
II		1.000	.331	.308	.339	.008
III			1.000	.463	.534	.525
IV				1.000	.417	.337
V					1.000	.304
IV						1.000

The highest correlation among orientation types was between Committed Farmers and Nature Lovers. (See Table 1). Correlations of .50 or above occurred in turn between Committed Farmers on the one hand and Guests of the Country, Child 'Raisers' and Agrarian Cornerstones on the other. This in a sense is to say that the Committed Farmer was also something of a (1) nature lover, (2) person who enjoys life in the country (Guest of the Country), (3) person who believes there is something special about rearing children in the country (Child 'Raisers') and (4) person that believes farming and country life provide something of a cornerstone for the rest of society (Agrarian Cornerstones). There were also similarities in about the .50 plus correlation range between Child 'Raisers' and Nature Lovers and between Agrarian Cornerstones and Nature Lovers. With the possible exception of Child 'Raiser,' all seemed to enjoy the quality of country life. Reluctant Residents liked to be close to nature but felt deprived socially. Even though weather and climate was sometimes thought of as an adversary, elements of pleasure derived from the beauties and tranquility of nature existed in several of the inter-correlated types. It was Committed Farmers who departed most from the deference to nature stance. For them farming is indeed a continuous fight with nature (20) in a never ending cycle in which the farmer sometimes loses just about the time he thinks he has it made (89). In this they differed most from Nature Lovers. They were somewhat like Guests of the Country who also are not greatly impressed with living close to nature. Also in marked contrast to

Nature Lovers, Committed Farmers disagreed with the farming as a hobby idea (86) and that the country atmosphere tends to keep one from getting emotionally upset (45).

Only Committed Farmers and Agrarian Cornerstones showed any appreciable commitment to farming. The last were committed in principle but not much in actual involvement. Reluctant Residents, Guests of the Country and Child 'Raisers' were indifferent or ambivilant at best toward farming.

Perhaps in some respects what was absent from the typologies is as important as what was there. First there was no type indicative of commitment to farming either as a business or primarily to "make money." Quite likely, Committed Farmers intended to "make a good living" but in this there were quality of life issues that took precedence over money. Although there were retired and many semi-retired respondents among those who did the Q-sort, no retirement-oriented type as such emerged. Thinking and feeling for living in the country was more conditioned by considerations other than retirement. Perhaps the statement of one respondent states it all very well--"After a person hits 60, a person has no business being on a farm."

3. Congruency of Empirically Determined Orientations to Country Life with Rated Reasons

In addition to the Q-sorts which provided the basis for defining orientations and underlying ideologies for living in the country, farmers were asked how they regarded their living unit, i.e., as a farm, merely as a place to live or both. They were also asked to rank attributes generally associated with

TABLE 2. RANK ORDER OF NINE REASONS FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY ASSIGNED BY RURAL RESIDENTS IN MISSOURI CLASSIFIED BY FACTORIALLY DETERMINED ORIENTATIONS TO COUNTRY LIFE

	Factorially Determined Orientations to Living in the Country					
	I Committed Farmers rank (N=24)	II Reluctant Residents rank (N=6)	III Nature Lovers rank (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country rank (N=9)	V Child Raisers rank (N=8)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones rank (N=6)
Farming gives a sense of individual fulfillment	1	8	6	7	6	4
Place to retire	8	7	8	5	7	9
Farming is a good business	7	8	7	9	8	7
Place to rear children	2	4	4	2	1	5
Place to get away from the pressures of city life	6	3	5	1	2	6
Good way to supplement present job's income	9	6	9	8	9	8
Place to get close to nature	5	5	2	3	3	2
Place to grow things for own use	4	1	3	5	3	1
Just a good place to live	3	2	1	4	5	3

TABLE 3. VIEWS EXPRESSED OF OWN LIVING UNIT BY FACTORIALLY DETERMINED ORIENTATION TO LIVING IN THE COUNTRY

View of Own Living Unit	Factorially Determined Orientations to Living in the Country					
	I Committed Farmers % (N=24)	II Reluctant Residents % (N=6)	III Nature Lovers % (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country % (N=9)	V Child Raisers % (N=8)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones % (N=6)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Farm	62.5	0.0	8.4	0.0	12.5	33.3
Place to live	33.3	100.0	83.2	88.8	87.2	66.7
Both	4.2	0.0	8.4	11.9	0.0	0.0

living in the country or on the farm in the order of importance. If the ranking of these reasons for living in the country and how they regarded their place of residence are congruent with orientations determined by the factor analysis, an element of validity would be added to the typologies. Thus, at this junction we assess the congruity of these two variables.

In terms of both the factored types and rated reasons only two of the types showed any appreciable committment to farming. These were Type I, Committed Farmers and Type VI, Agrarian Cornerstones. The Committed Farmers in terms of the factorial design were most impressed by feelings of accomplishment from farming and with its essential nature for society. Congruent with this view they rated "Farming as giving one a sense of fulfillment" at the top of the list of nine attributes relative to farming and living in the country (See Table 2). They placed "A place to rear children" as second and "Just a good place to live" third. Significantly, farming as a business was rated low as it tended to be also in the Q-sort. More than any other group (62.5%) they viewed their residence as a farm (See Table 3).

Nature Lovers (Type III) as the name indicates factored high on those attributes that indicate pleasure and satisfaction from living close to nature. Again, congruent with the "nature loving attraction to life in the country" they rated "Just a good place to live" first and "Place to be close to nature" second. "A place to grow things for own use" was rated third. The vast majority (83.2%) saw their living unit as only a place

to live. The rest saw it either as a farm or both. But the farm as a place either to make money or to support income from off farm employment was rated far down on the list.

One said,

> "Out here there can be a pure man/nature symbiosis. We find truth in nature in why things grow and the way they grow and the behavior of animals. That is what you need to watch and know."
>
> "You are remote from traffic, noise, and pollution, yet have reasonable accessibility to town and the beauty of trees."

Guests of the Country (Type IV) by virtue of their factored views appeared to be just that. They liked being away from the city, but at the same time had little commitment to farming as an occupation nor did they have any special attraction for country people as such. They, much in line with the factored view, rated first, "Place to get away from the pressures of city life" and second, "A place to raise children." Third in importance, they saw country life as a place to live. About 90 percent saw their living unit only as a place to live. The rest, as both a farm and a place to live.

Typical quotes were:

> "Things like the local singing of the cricket which is the most prominent noise at the moment. The feet on the ground permanence in the people here. People here feel so deeply at home."

Agrarian Cornerstones who in the Q-sort indicated that the real meanings of life come from living in the country rated "Place to grow things for own use" first, "Place to get close to nature" was rated second and "Just a good place to live" third. Thus, again the factored type was basically congruent with rated reasons for living in the country. They too rated farming as a business very low.

But in terms of the way they viewed their place of residence they were at most peripheral to farming as an occupation. One in three considered their place of residence as a farm the other two-thirds merely as a place to live. But, quite aside from active involvement in farming as an occupation, they saw life on the farm as the cornerstone of the good life.

Perhaps typical of this kind of thinking was one who said:

> "I believe in simple living, high thinking, and working for God in a spiritual community."

Reluctant Residents (Type II) who were in a sense social isolates living close to nature rated "Place to grow things for own use" first. "Just a good place to live" was rated second and "A place to get away from the pressures of city life" third. (See Table 2) Thus, the ambivalence to both city life and living in the country was clearly evident. In regard to the country, they were torn between concern about social isolation on one hand and their favorable disposition toward living close to and in harmony with nature on the other. All regarded their country residence as "Just a place to live" (See Table 3). Certainly, this indicated little or no commitment to farming as an occupation.

Typical quotes were:

> "This makes me feel peaceful and serene and at home too."

> "Here we can control our own work and time and pace. We can try to build and develop our own work capacity in harmony with natural cycles. Also, this gives us an opportunity to approximate self-efficiency."

Child 'Raisers' (Type V) who by the factored design saw the country as something special for rearing children also rated "A place to raise children" first among reasons for living in the country. The ranking of other reasons also closely paralled their factored view. Second was "A place to get away from the pressures of city life" and tied for third "A place to get close to nature" and "A place to grow things for own use". Only about one in eight saw their residential unit as a farm. The rest saw it only as a place to live.

Typical quotes were:

> "We felt raising the children in the country would be a cleaner environment and we would spend more time together as a family."
>
> "This is small enough to know people and they truely care for children."
>
> "People are kind and helpful and at the same time allow you peace and privacy."
>
> "You can walk around in the woods alone. You can get closer to nature and you are more aware of the people around you and always able to find something of beauty."

IV. Summary and Conclusion

By collecting a great diversity of reasons and underlying philosophies for living in the country it was possible to obtain an aggregate that approximated those that existed. These were collected from the literature on the subject and in-depth interview with a great diversity of rural residents. By the use of a balance bolck design with commonly verbalized reasons for living in the country as one dimension and underlying philosophies as the other, it was possible to select ninety items from the approximate 600 with assurance that all of the cross referenced views would be properly represented.

Then, by asking a second highly diverse sample of 72 rural residents to Q-sort the 90 items and by subsequent orthogonal factor analysis it was possible to identify 6 ideological types of rural residents. These were assumed to represent empirically determined reasons and underlying philosophies for living in the country. They were descriptively named Committed Farmers, Reluctant Residents, Guests of the Country, Child 'Raisers' and Agrarian Cornerstones.

Respondents were also asked to rate reasons for living in the country on a 1 to 8 range. This provided a congruency test for the factored types. The net result of this test was a finding of high congruency between factored types and the rated reasons for living in the country. A Kriskal-Wallis congruency test between the factored types showed them to be highly significant statistically.

Highly rated consensus items among the types were conspicuous by their absence. Such agreement as did exist were on items rated only in the moderately agree or disagree range. Also absent were some types that might have been expected to appear. First, there was no type committed to farming as a uniquely business money-making enterprise. Only two types had any appreciable

committment to farming at all and the one most committed -Committed Farmers- rated quality of life issues and importance of farming to society over making money. Another type which we might have expected to appear was a retirement typology. But, even here basic ideologies and quality of life reasons took precedence over matters of retirement.

Commitment to living in the country was also varied. The range was from the view of the Reluctant Residents who longed for urban culture, to those who saw farms and farming as a cornerstone of society.

The ideological base for these types will be the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation now in process. The utilitarian concerns of the investigation will be the subject of a research bulletin. Items that most discriminate each type from the aggregate and one from the other can be used for divising a simplified survey research instrument that will enable identification of types in other social settings. This will serve both as a basis for research sampling and more definitive extension programming. The discriminating items that will serve as a basis for such an instrument are enumerated in the Appendix Tables 3a and b.

From a sociological point of view the study will show how agrarian, Protestant Ethic, consumerism, New Naturalism and humanistic ideologies have become incorporated into underlying ideologies and reasons for living in the country.

FOOTNOTES

2. The references used for Agrarianism items were: Bailey (1905 and 1915); Butterfield (1919); Cook and Swauger (1974); Inge (1969); Morgan (1942); Twelve Southerners (1937); Wallace (1917); Williams (1925). References used for New Naturalism items were Yankeovitch (1970). Humanism views, somewhat less well defined, were found in the expressions of the counter culture treated a length by Douglas (1970) and the multiplicity of student views noted by Yankelovich (1970). Consumerism views to which American society has tended in the recent past, if not still, is appropriately alluded to by DeFleur and Rokeach (1975). This orientation is sufficiently present to obtain relevant views from current literature and expressions of people for which no in depth interviewing is needed.

3. This varimax rotation routine maximizes the sum of variances of squared loadings in the columns of the factor matrix (Nunnally, 1967). By adding the squared products, one can find the total amount of variance explained by the choice of factor design (e.g., 6 factors). For this 6 factor design, 52.27 percent of the total variance was explained.

4. The choice of 6 factors was based upon the greatest succinctness or precision in defining types and as small as possible a compaction in the inter-type correlation matrix (See Appendix, Table1). Under a 10 factor design there was relatively little inter-type correlation and few items emerged as common items that fit the types specifically.

Under a four factor design types were highly inter-correlated (e.g., above .8) and showed no ground for clear specification. The 6 factor design provided some high and low degree of inter-correlation in addition to giving some degree of precision for the type (See Table 1). Thus, of the fifteen inter-type correlations, only 6 were above the .5 level while only two correlations were below the .3 level of inter-type correlation.

5. The numbers in parentheses indentify the statements for which z scores assigned are found in the Appendix, Table 1.

6. The six types were found to be different at a highly statistically significant level (.005) using a Kruskal-Wallis test for differences between multiple ranks.

Footnotes (cont.)

7. For an extended treatment of this subject see J. Patrick Smith (dissertation).
8. Reference to one dimension of the balanced block design as orientations to living in the country and the factored types orientations also posed something of a terminology and/or communication dilemma, but not one of logic in either research design or interpretation of the output. Certain orientations were apparent in the aggregate of statements collected. To insure that each of the orientations could appear in the way respondents actually put them together - i.e. in the factor analysis in search of people with similar kinds of views - it was necessary to include a representative sample of each in which each of the underlying ideologies were also manifest. This design permitted three statements each in the cross referenced cells as illustrated in Figure 1. The classification scheme does not assure that any one of the orientations represented in the sample will appear as central to the thinking of any group of people and thus appear as a factored type. Appropriate sampling permits them to appear as if they in fact do exist as a unique type. The end product of the research is the output of the empirical search produced by the factor analysis. If a factored type does appear that looks like an orientation used initially in the sampling design the investigators may choose to assign it the same or a slightly different name. But in no case are each to be confused with the other.

   One might have hypothesized that either one or more of the orientations would appear as typical or that one or more of the ideological dimensions would appear in more or less "pure" form. Nothing that looked like the latter did emerge. Some orientation somewhat like the original orientations did but always with elements of the others and of the ideoligies also.

9. Z-score ratings of items by factored types were converted back to positions on the -5 to +5 Q-sort scale. An alternative would have been to identify each respondent classified into each type and determine the average of the Q-positions they were assigned to each of the items.
10. Another method sometimes used is to briefly describe each type and ask respondents to indicate which one they like most.

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APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE 1. Z-SCORE RATINGS ASSIGNED TO STATEMENTS BY RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY RURAL RESIDENT TYPE AND UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHIES

Underlying Philosophies / Statements	Z-Scores for Types of Rural Residents					
	I Committed Farmers (Z-Scores) (N=28)	II Reluctant Residents (Z-Scores) (N=7)	III Nature Lovers (Z-Scores) (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country (Z-Scores) (N=6)	V Child Raisers (Z-Scores) (N=4)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones (Z-Scores) (N=3)
PROTESTANT ETHIC						
89. You wonder whether farming is worth it. About when you have it made, it rains too much or gets too dry or storms or freezes.	1.2	1.1	-0.6	1.3	0.9	0.1
41. Here people enjoy the sense of independence. They are not beholden to anyone for a salary. What you do you do for yourself.	0.2	-0.3	0.6	-0.3	-0.6	-0.2
31. I enjoy farming because I always have something to do and there is always a job.	0.6	-0.6	0.5	1.4	0.0	1.6
10. The possession of a farm not only makes a man independent but it also obliges him to use initiative.	1.0	0.3	0.8	1.0	1.1	-0.2
24. What farming really adds up to is slave labor.	-1.2	-0.5	-1.8	-2.0	0.0	-1.7
34. We like living here because it gives us the possibility to make money with imagination and hard work.	0.7	-0.3	0.6	0.1	-0.6	0.6
78. Out here you can get away from the urban hassle and still make money if you work.	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.6	-0.6	1.4
74. If I couldn't go out on my own land and poke and nose around, I would go crazy.	0.2	1.2	0.4	0.3	-0.8	-0.7
85. I like being away from the rush of city life. But the loneliness out here is hard to take.	-1.0	1.7	-0.9	1.1	-0.7	-1.4
27. Country people have better common sense and a better idea of what hard work is.	0.9	-1.9	0.3	0.9	0.8	0.9
26. Country folk have to do things for themselves and learn for themselves.	0.6	0.3	0.7	-0.3	0.6	1.6
79. The idea that you get mental discipline from hard work on the farm does not apply anyplace now, not even on the farm.	-0.9	0.7	-0.8	-0.2	-0.4	-0.9
77. It is better to raise children in the country because it teaches them responsibility with freedom.	1.7	-0.2	0.9	0.3	1.1	-0.4
75. Kids have so many activities in the city they cannot excel in anything.	-1.0	-2.2	-1.2	-0.9	-0.6	-1.4
18. Farms are good for kids because you know where they are all the time.	-0.7	-1.6	-0.5	-1.0	-0.3	-0.9
38. When you grow crops, you can see the results of your work. You feel like you have accomplished something after the harvest.	2.0	0.9	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.4
62. Organic farming might be more in harmony with nature than most commercial farms. But the first requirement is to make a living.	-2.0	-1.2	-2.0	-1.1	-0.9	-1.8
07. I can just piddle around here -fix a fence once in a while- at the same time get some fresh air and exercise.	0.2	0.3	0.2	1.7	-0.1	0.0
CONSUMERISM						
57. The idea that owning even a little land makes a person secure seems silly.	-0.7	-0.6	-0.6	-1.1	-0.9	-0.5
86. Really the farm is sort of a hobby for me. My work has to do with other things.	-0.7	0.6	0.6	0.3	2.2	-1.0
64. It's not the living that we make on the farm; its the life we have here that is so wonderful.	0.8	0.4	1.8	0.8	1.1	1.6
42. Farming is mostly a matter of status achievement, as long as farmers can get credit they will buy a lot of things they don't need.	-1.8	-0.2	-1.2	-1.3	-1.6	0.0
01. At the end of my working career I can live from renting out my land. I can still do something after I retire.	-0.1	0.3	0.0	1.2	0.2	-0.2
68. Most people are farmers because of the unlimited income potential; it is just like gold-mining.	-0.2	-1.0	-1.5	-0.6	-1.1	-0.5
67. People are just tired of living right up next to each other. In town you can't stretch out your legs and really feel free.	0.6	1.1	1.3	0.2	1.0	-0.3
16. We really have to live here; it simply costs too much to live in the city.	-0.9	-1.1	-0.5	-0.3	-0.7	0.9
39. If escape from city influences and development is what you want, you can't find it in the country either.	-0.7	-0.1	-0.7	-0.5	0.1	1.1
59. This thing that people call development will really alter life around here and it will especially hurt the children.	-0.4	-1.4	0.1	-2.1	0.5	-1.0
36. It is important today to keep material wants down. The chances of doing this are better in the rural communities.	0.1	-0.4	1.0	0.8	-0.2	2.0
82. Out here you are too isolated from what is going on in the world, particularly the cultural activities.	-1.5	1.5	-0.9	-1.7	-0.1	-0.9

TABLE 1 (Cont.).

Underlying Philosophies Statements	Z-Scores for Types of Rural Residents I Committed Farmers (Z-Scores) (N=28)	II Reluctant Residents (Z-Scores) (N=7)	III Nature Lovers (Z-Scores) (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country (Z-Scores) (N=6)	V Child Raisers (Z-Scores) (N=4)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones (Z-Scores) (N=3)
40. Being able to have a cow, horse or dog is a poor substitute for the better schools that children have in the city.	-1.3	0.3	-1.4	-1.1	-0.2	-1.8
83. Farms protect kids from the temptations of the city like dope and sex and motorcycles.	-1.0	-2.5	-1.6	-1.2	-2.0	-2.0
23. I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special.	0.4	0.4	0.5	1.3	2.2	0.8
44. Home grown foods are O.K. but they have dietary deficiencies too.	-0.8	-0.8	-1.3	1.7	-0.6	-1.3
28. We live in the country because we loved the open air and the peace.	1.4	1.2	1.9	0.8	1.8	1.1
66. When you are in the middle of land and it is just after a snow, you feel you have something beautiful that no one else has.	0.5	1.1	1.7	-1.1	0.8	0.1
NEW NATURALISM						
48. Every person should have the right and the privilege to a personal use of some part of the earth.	0.2	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.1	-0.8
62. To put it simply, the most important thing you get from farming is money.	-2.0	-1.2	-2.0	-1.1	-0.9	-1.8
58. Just look at these nature lovers and you see they have all the luxuries of the city.	-0.2	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.4	-0.2
72. Farming provides an opportunity for working in harmony with nature and still make a living.	1.2	0.7	1.5	0.9	0.6	0.7
09. The farmer does not have full command of his situation until the landscape is a part of his farming.	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.8	0.0	-0.3
71. Landscape and trees are nice. But when they get in the way of operating a farm in a business like manner they must go.	-0.1	-0.5	-1.4	0.0	0.0	-0.3
51. In a sense, I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit out here on my porch and not be bothered.	-0.5	0.9	0.9	2.1	0.4	-1.0
49. Living out here close to nature is O.K. But you need to be close to people too. That is hard to come by out here.	-0.8	1.7	-1.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.8
45. The whole atmosphere out here in the country keeps you from getting upset.	-0.9	0.1	0.4	-0.4	-0.8	0.2
13. Cultivation of the land was the original destination of man. This is one important reason why so many now want to live on the land.	0.9	-0.2	-0.2	-1.5	0.8	1.1
52. Being a farmer appeals to me because farmers are the custodians of our national wealth.	0.5	-0.1	-0.5	-0.6	-0.7	0.0
84. City life goes to extremes; country life, while it is varied, is more even and stable.	0.1	-0.5	0.7	0.2	-0.2	1.4
08. The way some nature lovers in the country act, it would lead kids to believe that man was made for animals rather than the other way around.	-1.0	-0.7	-1.0	0.0	0.4	-0.7
25. Kids ought to get a sense of permancy that comes from living in the country. I want to build a home and plant a tree and never move again.	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.9	0.8	-0.8
21. No child should grow up without a knowledge of the forest or close contact with nature.	1.4	1.6	2.0	0.3	1.0	0.5
61. Nature cannot be antagonistic to man, seeing that man is a product of nature.	-0.3	-0.4	0.3	-1.1	-0.8	0.2
20. Farming is a continuous fight with nature which includes weeds weather, diseases and insects.	1.4	1.0	-0.5	1.3	1.4	1.1
33. People in the country are not that healthy. We have as many health problems and allergies as they have in the city.	0.2	1.5	-0.5	-0.2	-0.1	0.9
AGRARIANISM						
69. People who glorify country life for its independence are kidding themselves. People are just as dependent on each other in the country as in the city.	0.1	1.6	-0.3	0.4	1.3	0.9
19. We are on the farm because we were raised out here and that is all we know.	-1.0	-0.7	-0.8	0.0	-0.3	-0.9
17. Many families would hock their souls just to keep the land in the family.	0.3	1.2	-0.1	-0.5	-1.2	0.2
37. The family farm is a thing of the past because it cannot be operated as a business.	-1.4	-0.3	-0.7	-0.1	0.9	-0.5
30. As farmers are the backbone of the state, ways must be found in which farming can be made to pay.	1.7	0.6	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.2
56. You can say that we couldn't exist without farmers supporting everybody else.	0.7	0.7	0.3	-0.7	0.7	0.2

TABLE 1 (Cont.).

Underlying Philosophies Statements	Z-Scores for Types of Rural Residents I Committed Farmers (Z-Scores) (N=28)	II Reluctant Residents (Z-Scores) (N=7)	III Nature Lovers (Z-Scores) (N=24)	IV Guests of the Country (Z-Scores) (N=6)	V Child Raisers (Z-Scores) (N=4)	VI Agrarian Cornerstones (Z-Scores) (N=3)
11. You can be a real, honest-to-goodness farmer without owning a lot of land.	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.8	0.6	0.9
55. If you were raised on a farm the city won't do. On a farm you can do your own thing.	-0.2	-0.6	0.2	1.6	-0.8	-0.6
12. In the country you can't have any privacy. Everybody knows what you are doing and has something to say about it.	-1.3	-0.3	-0.9	-1.8	0.4	-1.0
46. It will be the people on the land who will have to put things together when things all fall apart.	0.3	-0.5	0.6	-0.2	-0.4	-1.5
80. Most people will have to live in cities. So the thing to do is to build a good life there.	0.2	1.3	-0.2	0.6	0.6	-0.3
06. Farming is the best part of the "old time religion." It reminds people how dependent they are on nature like religion reminds them how dependent they are on God.	0.9	-0.8	0.4	-0.5	0.9	1.7
15. The tradition bound way of thinking you get in the country is not good for raising children. It creates closed minds that aren't suited to present conditions.	-1.8	0.3	-1.3	-1.7	-1.1	-0.9
87. Country kids are a lot smarter than city kids because of common sense and experience.	-0.5	-2.5	-1.1	-0.3	-2.2	-1.0
60. I'm from a family who is a great believer in family life. That is why we live in the country.	0.3	0.4	[illegible]	0.0	-0.2	0.0
05. The real meanings of life come from living in the country and not from science.	0.0	-1.1	0.6	-1.0	-1.9	2.2
47. A person needs to be a farmer first and a naturalist second.	-0.3	-0.4	-0.8	1.2	-0.9	0.3
03. Getting close to land and nature, one can learn how God meant things to be.	1.5	0.5	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.7
HUMANISM						
04. You can glorify farming as a way of life all you want. But I say it is mostly slave labor.	-1.3	-0.2	-1.6	-2.3	-0.5	-1.2
88. Rural people seem more friendly and willing to do things for each other.	1.4	-0.4	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.4
65. People have a deep rooted need to participate in community life. If people are unable to participate, then they might have a grave injury to their personalities.	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.6
29. Farmers have a moral obligation to increase their agricultural production.	-0.4	0.4	-1.0	0.4	-1.1	-0.1
76. When the going is good for him, the farmer robs the rest of us; when the going is bad he comes bawling for help out of the public till.	-2.6	-0.2	-1.5	-1.9	-2.5	-1.2
50. If the family farmer goes, then cheap food would also go. Labor would get control and get what they want at the price they want.	1.6	-0.9	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	0.9
32. When you live in the city, you feel like things are closing in on you.	0.0	0.6	1.0	0.2	0.6	-0.1
35. In the country, people care for each other and help each other out.	1.3	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.3
90. You are free to worship as you please in the country when it comes to religion.	0.0	-1.0	-0.1	-0.1	-1.9	1.5
53. Today people who live in the country have such a diversity of interests that the sense of community and cultural concern for each other is lost.	-1.5	-0.6	-1.0	-0.8	-1.7	0.1
22. People living in the country are basically good people who are interested in you as a person and not where you came from.	0.8	-2.3	0.6	0.0	2.1	1.4
54. The home and the community are preserves of the most important values of our cultural inheritance. Home and community are best preserved in the country.	0.5	-0.9	0.6	-0.3	-0.5	0.2
73. Farming is a good way to keep a family close.	1.3	0.1	0.8	-0.2	0.6	0.3
70. I've always thought that farm children are different. They seem to be happier and show more respect for people in general.	1.3	-1.5	0.2	0.4	1.4	0.2
43. The personality make-up that one needs today is more likely to be developed in the city and not in the country.	-1.3	-0.8	-1.3	-0.6	-1.3	-0.6
14. Everything that removes us one step further from the earth is a distinct loss to the people.	0.2	1.1	1.4	-0.7	-1.0	-1.5
81. When it comes to farming, trees are mostly in the way. When that is the case, they must go.	-0.5	-0.6	-1.9	-0.3	-0.9	-0.2
63. Real human qualities are the ones that develop in close communion with nature.	0.6	-0.6	1.3	-0.6	0.2	-0.2

APPENDIX TABLE 2. CONSENSUS ITEMS AND Z-SCORES RELATIVE TO REASONS FOR LIVING IN THE COUNTRY*

Item Number	Statement	z-score
11	You can be a real, honest-to-goodness farmer without owning a lot of land.	0.98
72	Farming provides an opportunity for working in harmony with nature and still make a living.	0.94
60	I'm from a family who is a great believer in family life. That is why we live in the country.	0.14
58	Just take a look at these nature lovers and you see that they have all the luxuries of the city.	0.10
09	The farmer does not have full command of his situation until the landscape is a part of his farming.	-0.31
19	We are on the farm because we were raised out here and that is all we know.	-0.63
57	The idea that owning even a little land makes a person secure seems silly.	-0.72
43	The personality make-up that one needs today are more likely to be developed in the city and not in the country.	-1.00

* Defined as a range of no more than 1 z-score variation among factored types.

APPENDIX TABLE 3a. Z-SCORES AND DIFFERENCES OF DISCRIMINATING ITEMS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR OVER ALL DISCRIMINATING CAPABILITY

Discriminating Capability and Item Number	Item Statement	z-score for Designated Type	z-score for Total Sample	Difference
Type I from all others				
30	As farmers are the backbone of the state, ways must be found in which farming can be made to pay.	1.7	0.4	1.3
37	The family farm is a thing of the past because it cannot be operated as a business.	-1.4	-0.1	1.3
50	If the family farmer goes, then cheap food would also go. Labor would get control and get what they want at the price they want.	1.6	0.2	1.4
Type II from all others				
49	Living out here close to nature is O.K. But you need to be close to people too. That is hard to come by out here.	1.7	-0.5	2.2
33	People in the country are not that healthy. We have as many health problems and allergies as they have in the city.	1.5	0.1	1.4
80	Most people will have to live in cities. So the thing to do is to build a good life there.	1.3	0.2	1.1
Type III from all others				
63	Real human qualities are the ones that develop in close communion with nature.	1.3	-0.1	1.4
81	When it comes to farming, trees are mostly in the way. When that is the case, they must go.	-1.9	-0.5	1.4
71	Landscape and trees are nice. But when they get in the way of operating a farm in a business like manner they must go.	-1.4	-0.2	1.2

APPENDIX TABLE 3a (Cont.).

Discriminating Capability and Item Number	Item Statement	z-score for Designated Type	z-score for Total Sample	z-score for Difference
Type IV from all others				
07	I can just piddle around here -fix a fence once in a while- at the same time get some fresh air and exercise.	1.7	0.1	1.6
55	If you were raised on a farm the city won't do. On a farm you can do your own thing.	1.6	-0.4	2.0
51	In a sense, I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit out here on my porch and not be bothered.	2.1	0.1	2.0
Type V from all others				
86	Really the farm is a sort of a hobby for me. My work has to do with other things.	2.2	0.0	2.2
05	The real meanings of life come from living in the country and not from science.	-1.9	0.1	2.0
23	I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special.	2.2	0.7	1.5
22	People living in the country are basically good people who are interested in you as a person and not where you came from.	2.1	0.1	2.0
Type VI from all others				
36	It is important today to keep material wants down. The chances of doing this are better in the rural community.	2.0	0.3	1.7
39	If escape from city influences and development is what you want, you can't find it in the country either.	1.1	-0.4	1.5
26	Country folk have to do things for themselves and learn for themselves.	1.6	0.4	1.4

APPENDIX TABLE 3b. Z-SCORES AND DIFFERENCES OF DISCRIMINATING ITEMS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR BETWEEN ITEM DISCRIMINATION

Between Designated Types	Item Number and Statement		z-scores for		
			Designated Item	Other Item	Difference
I and II	79.	The idea that you get mental discipline from hard work on the farm does not apply anyplace now, not even on the farm.	-0.90	0.72	1.62**
I and III	20.	Farming is a continuous fight with nature which includes weeds, weather, diseases, and insects.	1.38	-0.51	1.89
I and IV	73.	Farming is a good way to keep a family close.	1.27	-0.24	1.51**
I and V	37.	The family farm is a thing of the past because it cannot be operated as a business.	-1.45	0.89	2.34
I and VI	77.	It is better to raise children in the country because it teaches them responsibility with freedom.	1.72	-0.45	2.17
II and III	82.	Out here you are too isolated from what is going on in the world, particularly the cultural activities.	1.54	-0.92	2.46
II and IV	15.	The tradition bound way of thinking you get in the country is not good for raising children. It creates closed minds that aren't suited to present conditions.	0.27	-1.65	1.92
II and V	17.	Many families would hock their souls just to keep the land in the family.	1.25	-1.23	2.47
II and VI	06.	Farming is the best part of the "old time religion." It reminds people how dependent they are on nature like religion reminds them how dependent they are on God.	-0.81	1.68	2.50

APPENDIX TABLE 3b (Cont.).

Between Designated Types	Item Number and Statement		z-scores for Designated Item	z-scores for Other Item	Difference
III and IV	21.	No child should grow up without a knowledge of the forest or close contact with nature.	1.99	0.27	1.73
III and V	23.	I think kids growing up in the country are aware only later that they have had something special.	0.52	2.19	1.67
III and VI	46.	It will be the people on the land who will have to put things together when things all fall apart.	0.56	-1.46	2.03
IV and V	59.	This thing that people call development will really alter life around here and it will especially hurt the children.	-2.08	0.51	2.59
IV and VI	51.	In a sense, I'm kind of living out here as a guest of the country. I can sit out here on my porch and not be bothered.	2.13	-1.03	3.16
V and VI	90.	You are free to worship as you please in the country when it comes to religion.	-1.86	1.55	3.41

** statistically significant at the .15 level. All others statistically significant at the .1 level or higher.

Table 4. AVERAGE Q-SORT SCALE POSITION ASSIGNED AGGREGATED IDEOLOGY ITEMS BY PERSONS WITH DESIGNATED ORIENTATIONS TO LIVING IN THE COUNTRY (FACTORED TYPES).

Ideologies	Orientations					
	Committed Farmers I (avg)	Reluctant Residents II (avg)	Nature Lovers III (avg)	Guests of the Country IV (avg)	'Child Raisers' V (avg)	Agrarian Cornerstones VI (avg)
Protestant Ethic	0.94	-0.94	0.94	0.61	0.28	1.11
Consumerism	0.67	-0.17	1.06	0.22	1.06	0.06
New Naturalism	-0.06	-0.34	1.17	0.11	0.39	0.33
Agrarianism	1.34	-0.56	1.00	0.33	0.61	0.78
Humanism	2.23	-0.39	1.97	0.50	0.78	1.22

Table 5. INTERCORRELATION OF THE ORDER IN WHICH FACTORED TYPES OF RESPONDENTS RANKED THE FIVE DIFFERENT IDEOLOGIES: PROTESTANT ETHIC, CONSUMERISM, NEW NATURALISM, AGRARIANISM AND HUMANISM

	Factored Types and Names	Factored Types*					
		I (r)	II (r)	III (r)	IV (r)	V (r)	VI (r)
I	Committed Farmer	1.000	0.347	0.586	0.862	0.478	0.891
II	Reluctant Residents		1.000	0.826	0.261	0.913	0.216
III	Nature Lovers			1.000	0.463	0.826	0.586
IV	Guests of the Country				1.000	0.434	0.913
V	'Child Raisers'					1.000	0.434
IV	Agrarian Cornerstones						1.000

* Spearman Rank-Order Correlations of .825 or greater show a high level of consistent ranking, statistically significant at the .05 level.